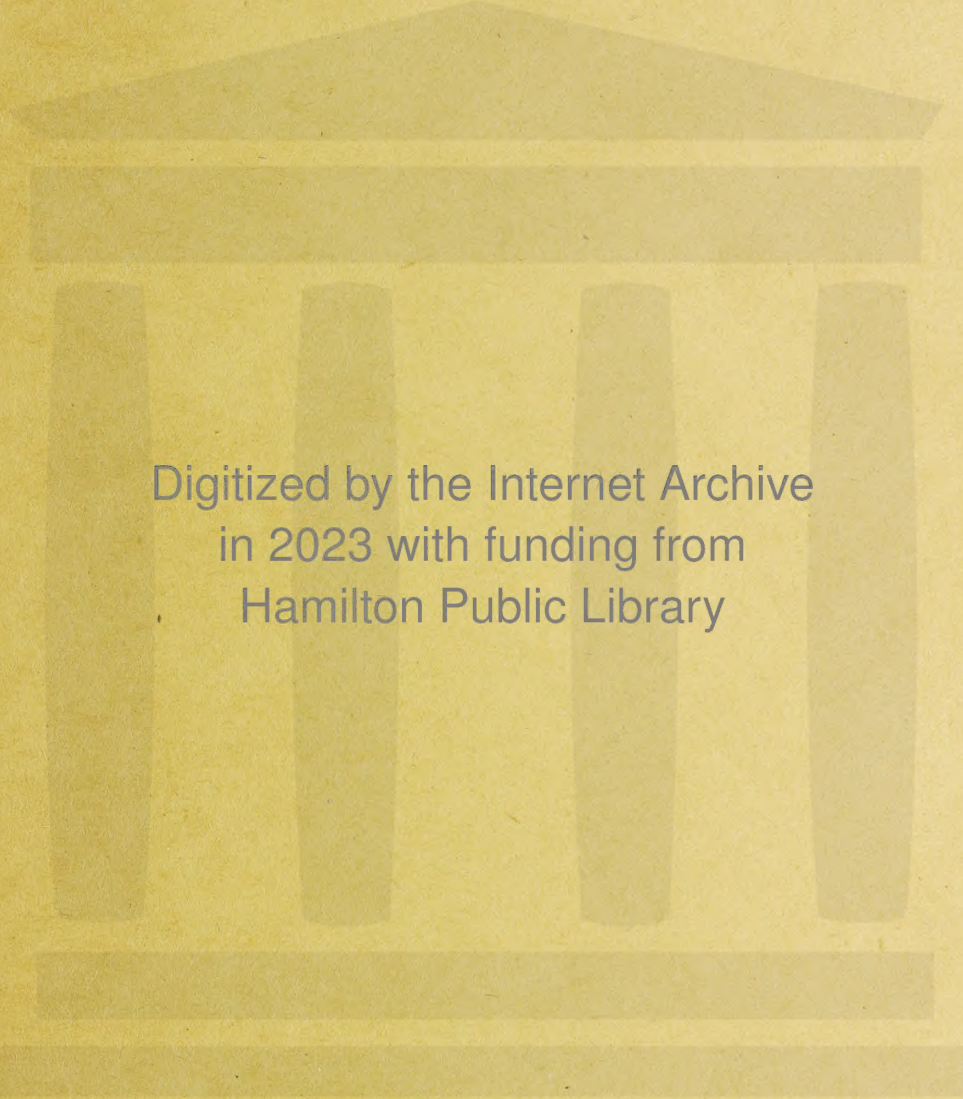


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THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

BY

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THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE¹

FEW public men in Canadian history have so represented the spirit of their age as did William Lyon Mackenzie, and particularly during the pre-Rebellion stage of his career. This was the age of Catholic Emancipation and the Great Reform Bill, the age of Bentham and Byron, of Cobbett and Edinburgh Reviewers, of O'Connell and Huskisson; the age when the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe triumphed over the last of the Bourbons at Paris, and when "King" Andrew Jackson succeeded the Adams dynasty at Washington. On both sides of the Atlantic the new wine of liberty and democracy was bursting the old bottles of restriction and privilege. Across the Atlantic the new stocks were of the vintage of the French Revolution or from the vineyards of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham; on this side it was largely "home brew" of the frontier. But there was still on hand much of the vintages of 1688 and 1776, neither of which had lost its power to stimulate men. In the 1820's and 1830's William Lyon Mackenzie was the principal purveyor of these various wines of liberty to the backwoods colony of Upper Canada.

It is the purpose of this paper to sketch briefly Mackenzie's political ideas, and to point to some obvious origins. Certain difficulties in the task should be borne in mind. Mackenzie was not a systematic philosopher, either by temperament or training; he was pre-eminently the journalist in politics. As a journalist he was peculiarly sensitive to the intellectual and emotional currents of his day. His was a day, too, of invective and over-statement, rather than careful argument or gentle irony. Cobbett was its mentor in the English world, rather than Swift or Addison. Like Cobbett, Mackenzie was always engaged in controversy. As a controversialist intensely interested in the issue of the

¹Presented to the Royal Society of Canada, May, 1936.

moment, he was inclined to pick up and fire whatever intellectual ammunition lay ready to hand and which promised to be serviceable in hitting the target. He was little concerned about consistency, except it were in maintaining his independence of all parties and all private interests. Much of his writing, too, was done at "white heat", with little time for correction. Again, Mackenzie was to some extent the victim of a filing system. A voracious reader, and a "clipper" by habit, he acquired abundant stores of ammunition for whatever issue arose. In many of his papers sources and evidence are carefully cited in text or footnote, but sometimes either editor or printer forgot both footnotes and quotation marks. The student a century later is often puzzled to know where Mackenzie the man leaves off and the Mackenzie filing system begins.

Still another difficulty is that of temperament. "I am incapable of moderating the spirit of party—I am hot and fiery & age has not yet tempered as much as I could wish my political conduct & opinions", he wrote John Neilson in 1835.² Nor did age ever temper him or give him repose. Of a restless, impetuous, romantic temperament, his store of nervous energy often ran low, and at such times enthusiasm and optimism gave way to hopelessness, if not despair. At all times his pen was inclined to follow his mood.

Still another difficulty for the historian is the very catholicity of Mackenzie's intellectual interests, at least during the early stages of his career. Intellectually he was very much a self-made man, with both the merits and the defects of such a preparation. He left elementary school at an early age to work in a draper's shop, but he had already acquired a wide interest in reading. His biographer, Lindsey, prints a list of some 958 books which Mackenzie noted he had read between the ages of eleven and twenty-four. These include works on theology, history and biography, travel, geography, poetry and drama, science and agriculture, as well as over three hundred novels.³ These appear to have been read with little system or order; it is as if he had simply read a library. This wide reading and his catholic, if indiscriminating, tastes were at least a valuable preparation for journalism, and particularly for journalism in a backward province of the Empire remote from the

²Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited P.A.C.), *Neilson Papers*, vol. VIII, Nov. 23, 1835.

³C. Lindsey, *The Life and Times of W. L. Mackenzie and the Rebellion of 1837-8* (Philadelphia, 1862), vol. II, pp. 303 ff. This remarkable feat of reading is further emphasized by the fact that many single items included many volumes, e.g., *The Works of William Shakespeare*, 12 vols., Raynal's *History of the West Indies*, 6 vols., Hume's *History of England*, 16 vols., are each listed as single items.

intellectual currents of the age. But Mackenzie was never subjected to a specific⁴ intellectual discipline, which, however narrowing it may be at times, seems so essential to the strengthening of the mind and the development of a consistent philosophy of men and things.

All these factors complicate the task of piecing together Mackenzie's ideas. Indeed, a superficial examination may easily leave the impression that intellectually Mackenzie was a mere jumble of contradictions, and it would be easy to make out a case to this effect, by testing him on the basis of isolated statements torn from their context, or by comparing his views at different periods of his career. But closer study reveals an inner unity and coherence, a unity based less on political remedies than on political attitudes. At heart Mackenzie always remained a Puritan with a mission. He was brought up a strict Presbyterian of "Seceder" variety. His reading of the literature of the enlightenment seems, however, to have weakened his religious faith, leaving it more formal than vital. Yet early training left a puritan cast of mind which became more rigid with age. This puritan view of life Mackenzie transferred to politics. The fundamental tenet of his political faith was that government was a trust to be administered on behalf of the governed. This was no new idea. Locke had elaborated it after 1688, and Whig politicians had ever since given it lip service. But with Mackenzie it was an article of faith believed as intensely as the religious faith of any Covenanter. It was at once a self-evident truth which needed no proof, a rule-of-thumb by which public men and measures could be judged, and an ideal to be pursued with the single-mindedness of a Sir Galahad seeking the Holy Grail. Any deviation by a public man from the straight and narrow path of disinterested public service, any abuse of public office for private advantage, high salaries and exorbitant fees, any undue private gain from public measures, were venal acts which should be denounced and exposed for the public good. Above all, the people's representative must not only do no evil, he must avoid the appearance of evil by refusing public office or association with private interests which might benefit from public policy. There could be no compromise with Satan. It was a stern and exacting creed, and one that became sterner and more uncompromising with age and under the stress of misfortune.

Superficially Mackenzie's ideas changed radically, sometimes with almost breath-taking suddenness, partly because he was ever ready to admit errors of judgment. Yet there is throughout a development about this central theme of government as a trust. Space forbids treatment

⁴Except possibly accounting, which he apparently learned as an apprentice.

in great detail. We shall follow rather what may be described as the "Hollywood method" of history—a series of shots to give a general impression.

THE COLONIAL EDITOR

Mackenzie first burst upon the political stage of Upper Canada with the publication of the *Colonial Advocate*⁵ at Queenston before the election of 1824. He was then an immigrant of but four years' standing, and had not yet reached his thirtieth year. His four years in Canada had been spent profitably in business, but the business of a country merchant, however profitable, could scarcely enlist all the energy or all the interest of a born reformer. The first few numbers of the *Advocate*, and particularly number I, show Mackenzie as a business man, interested in practical reforms for improving the economic conditions of the colony.⁶ "Why?" he asks, in a question shrewdly borrowed from the *Upper Canada Gazette*, the principal organ of the governing clique, "has this fine country so long languished in a state of comparative stupor and inactivity, whilst our more enterprising neighbours are laughing us to scorn?" His answer is that it is "the system", by which he apparently means the exploitation of the colony by British industrialists and merchants.

Our farmers are indebted to our country merchants, our country merchants are deeply bound down in the same manner, and by the same causes, to the Montreal wholesale dealers. Few of these Montreal commission merchants are men of capital; they are generally merely the factors or agents of British houses, and thus a chain of debt, dependence and degradation is begun and kept up, the links of which are fast bound round the souls and bodies of our yeomanry; and that with few exceptions from the richest to the poorest, while the tether stake is fast in British factories.⁷

It is this system which induces a sycophantic government in the colony and which depresses the spirit of enterprise among its people. It will be his task "to shew the country farmers how they may best lay the axe to the root of the evil and that speedily". If he later concentrated on political reform, it was as a means to an end—the economic welfare of the people of Upper Canada.

Nor was Mackenzie in the early stages of his career in any sense a

⁵The *Advocate* was printed in Lewiston—a commentary on the frontier conditions in Upper Canada in 1824.

⁶The late Professor Mavor concluded that Mackenzie unconsciously represented the new commercial spirit of the day (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1927, sec. 2, pp. 32-3). This is no doubt true in the earlier period, but scarcely true for the later period when, as we shall see, his interests were agrarian rather than commercial.

⁷*Colonial Advocate*, no. 1.

revolutionary, or a republican.⁸ The British constitution was at this time scarcely less the epitome of political wisdom for Mackenzie than it had been for Burke or Fox.⁹ He believed in aristocracy as a balancing principle in government, and he criticized the American system for its lack of a proper aristocratic element and believed it would not endure for that reason.¹⁰ While he recognized laws of primogeniture and entail as a latent source of evil, he admitted their merits in England.¹¹ He commended the original intention of the framers of the Constitutional Act of 1791 to create a colonial aristocracy.¹² He commended the system of Clergy Reserves, though he argued that all sects should benefit equally from them.¹³ Nor was he an egalitarian in his social views; instead he ridiculed the idea that all men are created equal.¹⁴ At this stage of his career he was not much concerned with the ideal of liberty. He wanted less talk about liberty in the Legislature and more practical reforms. Government, he observed, had many positive obligations to the community in the way of providing roads and bridges, canals and schools. He used the term, "liberty", it is true, and he had obviously come under the influence of the Romanticists such as Byron, but liberty to Mackenzie, at least in these early years, was little more than the liberty of an Englishman—the right to a jury trial, to freedom of speech and press, to an independent judiciary, to freedom from taxation without consent—liberty, in short, as understood by Blackstone and Chatham.¹⁵ It was far from the soul-filling ideal of French revolutionaries, and far from the individualism of Bentham, or the *laissez-faire* ideal of an Adam Smith.

⁸"We have never been disloyal subjects nor radical reformers", he says in his first number, "We have neither joined Spafield mobs, nor benefitted by the harangues of Hunt, Cobbett and Watson."

⁹*Ibid.*, April 26, 1827.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, May 7, 1827.

¹¹*Ibid.*, no. 1. Cf. also open letter on "Union of Great Britain and British America Recommended" (*ibid.*, May 7, 1827).

¹²*Ibid.*, April 26, 1827. He was, however, satirical about the so-called "gentry" of Upper Canada, "who had no more resemblance to the English country gentleman of information and good breeding, than . . . Goose Creek to the Thames. Their manners are abrupt & often vulgar, their policy is to play the slave at York, that in their respective neighbourhoods they may the more safely act the tyrant" (*ibid.*, July 8, 1824).

¹³*Ibid.*, no. 1.

¹⁴He asks: "Is 'the ricketty and scrofulous little wretch that first sees the light in' a workhouse or in a brothel, and who feels the effects of alcohol before the effects of vital air, equal in any respect to the ruddy offspring of the honest yeoman?" Is the babe born in utter want and helplessness free? As well might the mathematician and astronomer maintain that all the soil in the world is equally rich because the superficial contents of the acre are the same" (*ibid.*, April 26, 1827).

Again, he greatly prefers "British liberty" to "American liberty". He declares: "I . . . have a greater veneration for that constitution which has withstood the shocks of time and the revolutions of ages, than for any of the quack systems of liberty in this Western Continent, which after telling us that all men are equal, allow their votaries to buy and sell justice, and mock the ear with the language of freedom in a capital polluted with negro slavery."¹⁶

From the foregoing it is evident that Mackenzie at the outset of his journalistic career was essentially a Whig, and indeed he was fond of calling himself "a Whig of '88". He had the Whig acceptance of existing British institutions and the belief that they were essentially sound, the Whig reliance upon the Legislature rather than the Crown, the Whig belief in the aristocratic principle of government, and the Whig concept of liberty as essentially the civil liberties of Englishmen. But he was a "new" Whig, of the school of Fox rather than of Burke. Like Fox and the "new Whigs", he had a profound belief in "the people"¹⁷ as the foundation of political authority and political wisdom, a belief which in the 1820's was turning English Whigs of the left wing into philosophical radicals. It was no less important in transforming the Whiggism of William Lyon Mackenzie of the 1820's into the radicalism of Mackenzie of the 1830's.

But "the people" to Mackenzie was never a Paris mob nor humanity in the abstract. It was rather "the people" of *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, a verse of which indeed served as a text for the first number of the *Colonial Advocate*. It was "the honest yeoman", "the self-respecting honest mechanic", "the freemen of Upper Canada", who constituted "the people". He had Burns's respect for honest poverty, for manual labour, whether in field or shop, and Burns's romantic belief in the intelligence and integrity of the countryman. The influence of Burns on Mackenzie is very marked; during the early years of the *Advocate* it is to Burns he turns perhaps more than to any other writer for quotations, whether to eulogize the people or to satirize the Family Compact.¹⁸

¹⁵The first number of the *Advocate*, e.g., stresses the need for an independent judiciary, reform of the system of selecting juries so as to prevent packing, while freedom of speech and press are frequently referred to as vital defences of liberty.

¹⁶*Colonial Advocate*, April 18, 1825.

¹⁷For an admirable study of the political ideas and programmes of the various schools of Whigs, see H. W. C. Davis, *The Age of Grey and Peel* (Oxford, 1929).

¹⁸Mackenzie's electioneering methods later indicate a rather naïve belief in the intelligence of the people. In his first election in 1828 he resorted to the usual procedure of stump speaking, though he protested against, and refused to follow, the tactics of "treating". In all later elections until the campaign of 1836 he refused even to make speeches, believing that the people should be left to decide the issues and the merits

CONSTITUTIONAL PANACEAS

Although Mackenzie's constitutional proposals are rather outside the main purpose of this paper, it is perhaps well to examine certain outstanding proposals briefly since they embodied his political ideas in concrete form. At the outset of his career his proposals were in general two-fold. In the first place, the people must get rid of "collectors and king's advocates, ambassadors, parasites and sycophants"; they must choose "the wisest, the honestest, the most esteemed . . . tried patriots, in whose souls the voice of freedom is not yet extinct; who hold no offices under, or receive any gifts from the Crown"¹⁹—a remedy frequently urged by Chatham, Fox, and other Whigs upon the people of England against George III and "the King's Friends".

His second remedy was the union of the British North American colonies.²⁰ The first step should be to secure the consent of Parliament for a constitutional convention of all the colonies, and the constitution so drawn up should then be ratified by Parliament. As regards its form, whether a federal or legislative union, he made no definite proposals, but the new government should "have under its eye the resources of our whole territory . . . and the means in its power to administer impartial justice in all its bounds, *to no one part at the expence of another*". Such a government, he argued, "would require few boons from Britain"; it would strengthen the colonies for defence; it would encourage the growth of a colonial marine and of colonial foreign trade which were "shackled by SUPREME neglect, and by seven inferior SETTS of legislative bodies, reigning like so many petty kings during the Saxon heptarchy". Above all, it would raise a "barrier or counterpoise to republican power" and so guard and maintain British interests.²¹ This suggestion apparently received little support, and Mackenzie turned shortly to another remedy, though it is apparent that the idea long intrigued him.

In 1827, three years after proposing union of the colonies as a remedy for constitutional difficulties, Mackenzie came out for colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, in a series of open letters addressed to prominent public figures, including the Earl of Dalhousie, the governor-general.²² The details of his scheme were not worked out but he apparently had in mind a scheme of imperial federation rather than a legis-

of the candidates without pressure from the candidates. And although the editor of a political journal, he refused to use his paper for his own political campaign, except for official announcements and for his Address to the Electors.

¹⁹*Colonial Advocate*, no. 1.

²⁰Open letters to George Canning on India and China Trade, in no. 2 and subsequent issues of the *Colonial Advocate*.

²¹*Ibid.*, June 10, 1824.

lative union. He explained his change of front thus: "I once vainly hoped that intelligence & independent British principles would find their way into the assembly of Upper Canada, but experience has taught me that I formed a wrong estimate." There were a few independents of talent but most members were distinguished either for "servile adherence" to the governor, or "obstinate opposition" to any proposals of the administration, however praiseworthy. Some were sent to the Legislature because they were thought to have suffered at the hands of the administration and they must keep in character, others were sent "because they think we would be better off if united to New York State". Many legislators "are qualified to sign their names, but as to framing and carrying through a bill on any subject whatever, the half of them wisely never attempted such a herculean task".²³

He had apparently become convinced that union of the colonies would be but a step to independence and eventual union with the United States. Representation in the Imperial Parliament, on the other hand, would fix colonial attention on London and the attention of Parliament on the colonies. Moreover, it would attract British capital and British immigrants since the British constitution would then extend to the colonies, and colonials would enjoy their rights as Englishmen to a free constitution.²⁴ The series of open letters on union were, however, never published in full; Mackenzie ruefully admitted that he received no support.²⁵ Although for the time being he dropped advocacy of the scheme, believing it politically impracticable, he occasionally referred to it as the most ideal, and some eighteen years later when in exile he returned to it again as the only real solution of the colonial problem.

Failing to secure any support for an imperial union he turned to support the more popular proposal of colonial self-government, though he regarded this as a second best. Writing at the time that the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Civil Government was meeting in London, he said that there was great probability that the colonies would be asked shortly to assume the management of their own affairs.

This event would (next to our favorite system) be productive of the greatest possible advantage to the country, for so long as the present system is tolerated, so long will the energies of these beautiful countries lie hidden and unknown:— and in a commercial point of view, Canada, free to exert her latent powers, would be one of the best customers to Great Britain on the face of the earth. Property would rise to ten times its present value, public improvements would increase almost miraculously, education, which is the basis of all rational government, would

²²*Ibid.*, April 26, 1827 *ff.*

²³*Ibid.*, April 26.

²⁴*Ibid.*

be fostered, established priestcraft put under foot, the roads would become like bowling greens, domestic manufactures would be protected, and the people would quietly assemble in their several sections and appoint delegates to a provincial convention, which would frame a constitution, under which a wise, moral, and frugal government, would make Canada one of the happiest spots on the face of the earth. It is a hardship to be singular in our opinions, but we are probably the only individual who think the project of sending legislators to England preferable to the above. Everybody else (placemen excepted) desires a consistent frugal and constitutional domestic government.²⁶

Elected to the Legislature in 1828, Mackenzie became more concerned with immediately practical matters than with visionary schemes. From this date until 1837 he seemed to have had no panaceas for settlement of the colonial problem. His aim was rather to make the colonial system work by means of specific reforms.

The platform which he put before the electors on the occasion of his electoral campaign in 1828 indicates how moderately reformist his views still were at this time. While he had a long list of grievances—twenty-nine in all, forerunners of the famous *Seventh Report* of 1835—they were singularly mild when looked at in the light of a century later.²⁷ It is interesting to note, however, that before the year 1828 was out he was discussing the remedy of responsible government.²⁸ It has been fre-

²⁵“The fervent and glowing loyalty with which we are inspired induces us to prefer a union with Great Britain to independence, but unfortunately we find no supporters for our grand scheme, in this enlightened and independent colony. We stand alone—We are for the union—everybody else for * * * * * ” (*Colonial Advocate*, Jan. 17, 1828).

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷The principal grievances are: no facilities for popular education; undue expenditure on the Welland Canal; insufficient and badly kept roads; the salaries and fees of officials; executive influence in the Legislative Council by means of “placemen” and the number of bills rejected by the Council; the violation by the existing post office system of the “fundamental and inalienable principle of the constitution” of no taxation without representation; state aid for religion; clergy reserves; religious tests for admission to the new university; expenses of civil suits; dependence of the judges; the lack of a colonial agent in London; and appointed rather than elected local magistrates in the townships (*Colonial Advocate*, Jan. 31, 1828).

²⁸“Some of us think”, he says in a letter to John Neilson, “it would be well for the legislature at its meeting to assert *that principle* so long in use in Great Britain, which, though it does not dictate to the sovereign (or his representative here) the ministry he must choose, yet informs him that a change in confidential advisers is tho^t needful, and that such change as will induce parl^t. to repose with confidence in the integrity of the successors. It is in contemplation to assert this principle *here*—and we wait with anxiety for y^r example in L.C. I wish y^r sentiments on the subject in a letter, not private nor printed for publication, but such as I might shew to other members at my discretion. Nothing is more certain than that the regulations of Parliament, may be entirely set at nought, by vicious executive councils” (A. G. Doughty and N. Story (eds.), *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1819-1828*, Ottawa, 1935).

quently asserted by Canadian historians that Mackenzie never grasped the significance of responsible government. Certainly he did not think it a panacea; even later it was simply one among several of his suggested reforms, along with the independence of the judiciary, the complete control of finance by the Assembly, and an elective Legislative Council. At times he doubted that responsible government was even desirable, let alone possible. Thoroughly disinterested himself, he was not always sure of all his fellow Reformers. He could not follow the gleam of responsible government with the single-mindedness of Baldwin precisely because he was not sure that responsible government necessarily meant government in the interests of the people; it might simply mean that a new exploiting class was in control. His dissatisfaction with responsible government twenty years later after his return from exile arose apparently from the belief that his fears had been realized.

RADICAL INFLUENCES

During these years Mackenzie was in touch with liberal thought elsewhere. As a journalist and by times a bookseller, he was constantly reading newspapers and periodicals, both English and American. He printed long extracts from speeches in Parliament, particularly those of Brougham and other philosophical radicals, or from American public documents, such as President Jackson's inaugural address and messages to Congress. He read the English reviews, especially the *Westminster* and the *Edinburgh*, and frequently cited them in his editorial column and quoted from them at length. Among other American publications, the *American Quarterly Review*, a journal established in 1827 and modelled on the English reviews, attracted his attention. There is no very satisfactory evidence that during these years he read many books. Life was too busy, and the books available in Upper Canada few in numbers—he frequently lamented the lack of libraries, and especially the “miserable” library of the Legislature where he could find no book on legislative procedure and no English parliamentary journals or reports.²⁹ But if he read few books his extensive reading of articles in the reviews—many of them articles reviewing current literature—kept him intellectually in touch with the outside world. Bentham was no stranger to him; he noticed the appearance of Bentham's last book in 1830 and printed a few extracts;³⁰ in an open letter to Sir John Colborne in 1828³¹ he cited

²⁹P.A.C., *Neilson Papers*, vol. VIII, p. 530, Mackenzie to Neilson. Cf. also *Colonial Advocate*, May 27, 1824, and *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833).

³⁰*Colonial Advocate*, April 15, 1830.

³¹*Ibid.*, July 15, 1828.

Bentham's principle of politics—"the greatest happiness for the greatest number"; and he wrote home from New York in 1832 that "at a flying stationer's stall"³² he had picked up a great prize—Bentham's *Parliamentary Reform Catechism* in eight volumes. And he frequently cited the Scottish professors, the historian Robertson, Dugald Stewart and McCullough, the philosopher-economists, and Sir James Mackintosh, most of whom he met probably through the reviews.

There is evidence, too, that he was being driven to seek more satisfactory philosophical bases for politics. He had entered practical politics in 1828 in high hopes, but opposition of the Legislative Council and the Executive, and the apparent futility of the struggle were undermining his optimism. As was the case with the American colonists sixty years earlier, Mackenzie began turning for support to Locke, or at least to Locke's ideas as interpreted by the radical Whigs. In an open letter to Sir John Colborne printed in 1830 he wrote:

And first, with regard to the British constitution, concerning which it is alledged that we have in Upper Canada its image and transcript.

Dr. Price, in opposition to Mr. Burke, asserts, that by the principles of the revolution of 1688, the British nation have acquired three fundamental rights:

1. To choose their own rulers and governors.
2. To cashier them for misconduct.
3. To frame a government for themselves, suitable to their wants and necessities.

The celebrated Mr. Locke held the same doctrines. As did Mr. Fox. Sir James Mackintosh maintains them in his works. The great Earl of Chatham, through life advocated these principles, as being the fundamental doctrines of the old whig school.³³

A list of a hundred grievances laid before Sir John in the same letter indicated clearly that Locke's theories of natural rights and of the compact origin of government had now become fundamental to his political thought.

It is also evident that the Lower Canadian Reformers exercised a considerable influence upon Mackenzie. Mackenzie began correspondence with Neilson in 1828, and on a visit to Quebec two years later was a guest in Neilson's home.³⁴ For Neilson, Mackenzie entertained the highest respect, and on several occasions sought his advice or unburdened to him his political views in the frankest manner, even after Neilson broke with Papineau. Neilson undoubtedly was a moderating influence upon Mackenzie. Correspondence between the two continued until

³²*Ibid.*, May 17, 1832.

³³*Ibid.*, July 15, 1830.

³⁴The *Neilson Papers* contain several letters from Mackenzie. The opinions set forth in this paragraph are based upon these.

1836, and was resumed again in the weary years of Mackenzie's exile. Though he corresponded with Papineau and apparently with Viger, and though he followed Papineau's lead in 1837, he seems to have been on less intimate terms with the French-Canadian leaders. The barrier of race and language, and perhaps of temperament, seems never to have been completely lifted.

But we must retrace our steps to examine American influences. During the six years, 1824 to 1830, Mackenzie had become more North American in many respects. He had become a bitter opponent of state aid for religion, and a stout supporter of state-aided (or at least parish) and non-sectarian schools. "The attention paid to Education in the United States is the grand secret of their power", he declared in 1829, "and the most indissoluble bond of their Union". He was emphatic that education was the bulwark of a free constitution.³⁵ He was demanding abolition of primogeniture, and was critical of the value of aristocracy in the New World. The election broadside of 1830, "An Appeal to the People",³⁶ reveals many American ideas, such as the principle of rotation in office, especially for officials in charge of public funds, the hint of manhood suffrage, and the idea that the constitution is superior even to the legislative power. It also asserts that taxation forms no part of the legislative power, taxes being a "voluntary gift and grant of the people alone", and that if the people admit the right of Parliament to tax them they "cease to have British Freedom". How far Mackenzie derived these opinions from contact with American thought it is impossible to say, but while the ideas about the powers of Parliament are typically those of 1776, the reforms urged were in many cases already achieved in many states and agitated for in others. In addition to his reading of American periodicals, Mackenzie had now made personal contact with the United States. During the summer of 1829 he made an extended visit across the line, during which, as his biographer says, he had a disposition to see things in "couleur de rose". Certainly he was highly impressed with economic conditions and with the apparent simplicity and cheapness of government. He met many American

³⁵*Colonial Advocate*, Jan. 22, 1829. Again comparing the condition of Ireland and Scotland: "The cause is obvious to me. Education has made greater progress in Scotland than in Ireland. . . . It has been calculated that in Scotland one person is at school out of every nine of the population; in New York state one in four; in Ireland one in eighteen; and in Upper Canada only one in twenty!! Russia is still worse" (*ibid.*, July 19, 1832). Mackenzie's interest in promoting public education in Upper Canada was very real. See, for example, his remarkable *Catechism of Education* (York, 1830).

³⁶*Colonial Advocate*, Sept. 9, 15, 23, 1830. Also special edition containing whole "Appeal", apparently Sept. 23.

public men on this visit, including President Jackson whom he was prevailed to call upon by Van Buren after repeated offers of an introduction from others. He was greatly charmed by Jackson's simplicity, gentleness, and sincerity of manner—he had expected to meet a boor.³⁷

In 1832 Mackenzie proceeded to England to lay the case of the Reformers before the Colonial Office and other authorities. This "appeal to Caesar" over the heads of the colonial oligarchy brought him into personal contact with the English Radicals. He had long been enthusiastic over the prospects of reform in England, and he had been in correspondence at least with Hume. Now he was to broaden and deepen this association. He became intimate with Hume, and met many of the other Radicals, including O'Connell for whom he had a great admiration. He was present at a dinner given to the old Radical, Major Cartwright, and replied to the toast on colonial reform. He even visited Cobbett in his country home, and suggested that Cobbett, who had just been elected to Parliament, might be found less of a democrat in Parliament than in the *Weekly Register*.³⁸ Mackenzie was a spectator in the Lords on the final reading of the Reform Bill. He was enthusiastic over this "new and extraordinary event in the history of nations, a bloodless national revolution, reform and retrenchment in the government without the aid of the sword of the despoiler". For the colonies it was no less important:

Rejoice, Canadians! Britannia, the loved island of your sires,—she whose free institutions hath taught the nations to seek and find freedom's fair form, will now herself be free! The Colonies will be heard, and will receive that measure of equal justice to which their forbearance and patience under many difficulties so well entitles them. We will get rid of irresponsible executive and legislative councils, and obtain a vast and salutary accession of British Emigrants and British Capital—with fair play for them when they arrive in Upper Canada.³⁹

And Mackenzie's reception by the Colonial Office led him to believe fully in the good intentions and good faith of the Reform Ministry.

³⁷See his *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, which contains many letters written to the *Colonial Advocate* during this visit. On this visit Mackenzie made use of the Library of Congress to acquire a knowledge of banking laws and practice—he could find no material in the Legislative Library of Upper Canada. This knowledge he put to good use in the following session of the Legislature when he had a Committee on Currency and Banking appointed with himself as chairman, and again in 1831 when chairman of a Committee to investigate the request of the Bank of Upper Canada for an extension of its power of issuing notes. His reports calling for sound currency and banking practice, and the disallowance of two bank charters in 1832 by the Colonial Office at Mackenzie's instigation, are important incidents in the history of Canadian banking. See his *Sketches of Canada and the United States*, and Lindsey, *Life and Times*.

³⁸Lindsey, *Life and Times*, vol. I, pp. 258 ff.

³⁹*Colonial Advocate*, July 19, 1832.

Disillusionment, however, followed quickly on his return home. A new minister now reigned in the Colonial Office: Boulton and Hagermann, dismissed for their violent remarks about the instructions of the Colonial Office, were re-instated, Hagermann in his old office, and Boulton made chief justice of Newfoundland. The Bank bills, which Mackenzie had induced the Treasury to disallow, re-enacted by the Legislature with little change, were now accepted. The anticipated liberal instructions to the governor were not forthcoming. Mackenzie felt he had been tricked, and began to lose heart.⁴⁰ Elected to the Legislature again in 1834, he assumed his old role as a grievance-hunter. The *Seventh Report on Grievances* drawn up the following session was his final constitutional platform. It is little more than an expansion of grievances already put forward. In constructive proposals for constitutional reform it stops short of unanimous support for responsible government; it notes that some members prefer instead an elective executive and judiciary.⁴¹ The following session saw Mackenzie emerge as a complete free trader, of which more later. During these years Mackenzie vacillated between hope and despair about a settlement by peaceful means. He agreed with Hume's diagnosis that the "baneful domination of the mother country" would sooner or later drive the colonies to seek their freedom, but he strongly deprecated resort to arms⁴² as long as there remained any hope of reform.

⁴⁰"Until my return from England in the fall of 1833, I used what little influence I possessed with the yeomanry to persuade them that by petitioning England, a remedy would be found to every wrong of which they had just reason to complain. . . . But I have been in England—I have seen the usage *Ireland met with*—the treatment *other colonies* received—the promises made today to be broken tomorrow—the instructions (in the case of the chartered banks for instance) promulgated in the spring by one colonial minister to be *retracted* in the fall by another under the threat of a tory assembly here. In short I have seen enough to convince me that we shall continue to have the very *worst possible govt. in Upper Canada* until we get rid of the system which binds us to the earth. I therefore am *less loyal* than I was and would be wanting in candour if I did not admit the fact" (*Neilson Papers*, vol. VIII, pp. 522-3, Mackenzie to Nelson, Dec. 28, 1835).

⁴¹The *Report* emphasizes the right of colonies to self-government (1) as Englishmen; (2) as Loyalists—the late colonies had secured it by revolution. See extract in W. P. M. Kennedy (ed.), *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution*. This session also saw Mackenzie's onslaught on the Welland Canal and his appointment as a commissioner to examine its finances. He had long denounced the canal as a "shameful job", wasteful of public money. His investigation disclosed gross inefficiency in management, to say the least, though the Company was afterwards whitewashed by the Legislature.

⁴²"These are not the days when changes of gov^t are produced in America by violence and brute force—since I ret^d from Eg^d I have been far more sensible of this and have directed my attention more to the people" (*Neilson Papers*, vol. VIII, p. 528, Mackenzie to Neilson, Dec. 28, 1835). Cf. also *Colonial Advocate*, Dec. 14, 1833, where he deprecated resort to arms as long as there was any hope of reform.

The appointment of Bond Head as lieutenant-governor, however, once more raised hopes, especially in view of a favourable letter about the governor from Hume.⁴³ But again came disillusionment with the disclosure of Head's instructions, though he admitted they might be acted on in such a way as to bring a responsible Executive.⁴⁴ With the appointment of Baldwin, Rolph, and Dunn to the Executive Council hope once more revived, and Mackenzie resolved to support them actively. He felt, if the principle of a responsible Executive were acted upon by the governor there would be no further need of grievance committees and grievance reports, and he expressed himself as "heartily glad" of this.⁴⁵ But the experiment was short-lived; the new ministers shortly resigned because of disagreements with the governor. The election of 1836, when Head used every possible executive trick to defeat opponents and succeed in obtaining a House with a majority of executive supporters, as well as defeating Mackenzie, destroyed all hope of constitutional reform. Ill for a time after the election, Mackenzie was late in filing a petition for investigation of his defeat and the petition was thrown out by the Assembly on a technicality. Even yet, he appears to have had no intention of resorting to force. The drift of events in Lower Canada, however, forced the issue. Late in the summer of 1837 or early autumn it was decided that fortune must be tempted. In this decision Mackenzie was evidently the leading spirit. We are, however, concerned with ideas rather than events.⁴⁶

THE THEORY OF THE REBELLION

The latter half of 1837 saw perhaps the most vigorous crop of political theories of any period in Canadian history. In shaping the philosophy of rebellion Mackenzie played a leading part, both because his paper, *The Constitution*, was the organ of the Radicals, and because as corresponding secretary of the Central Committee and virtually provincial organizer, he attended most of the rallies of the Reformers. The source of this theory was very largely that of the American colonies immediately before 1776. Mackenzie printed in *The Constitution* Patrick Henry's famous oration, "Give me Liberty or Give me Death",⁴⁷ and Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, of which he announced an edition at a dollar per dozen,⁴⁸ which was apparently never published. The editorial columns are filled

⁴³P.A.C., *Roebuck Papers*, 1835-45, pp. 79-81, Papineau to Roebuck, March 13, 1836.

⁴⁴*Neilson Papers*, vol. IX, Mackenzie to Neilson, Feb. 1, 1836.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, Mackenzie to Neilson, Feb. 22, 1836.

⁴⁶For account of events see Lindsey, *Life and Times*.

⁴⁷Sept. 14, 1837.

⁴⁸July 19, 1837.

with references to 1776 and 1688, and with letters in a similar strain. Many of the reform meetings adopted elaborate resolutions, modelled closely on the American Declaration of Independence⁴⁹, even quoting its famous introduction that all men are created free and equal with rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", or on the milder Declaration of the Toronto Reformers. Such familiar terms as "Committee of Vigilance" and "Committee of Public Safety" are frequently used.⁵⁰

Four documents, however, deserve special attention, *viz.*, the Declaration of the Reformers of the City of Toronto of August, 1837, the draft of a Constitution for the State of Upper Canada drawn up by Mackenzie, and two Proclamations to the Inhabitants of Upper Canada issued by Mackenzie, one just prior to the outbreak and one from Navy Island.⁵¹

The authorship of the Declaration of the Toronto Reformers is rather doubtful. Mackenzie declared later that it was drafted jointly by himself and Dr. Rolph. His biographer, on the other hand, states it was drafted by Rolph and O'Grady. Mackenzie was at least one of the Committee which subsequently ratified and signed it. It would seem, therefore, to correspond in general with his ideas, though probably he would have gone farther. While it stops short of drawing the same conclusion as respects renouncing allegiance to the Crown, the Declaration is quite obviously modelled on that of 1776. Although local grievances and local incidents are included, many of the items and much of the phraseology, indeed whole sentences, are borrowed with or without acknowledgment from the earlier Declaration. Both start from first principles, but by no means the same first principles. Says the Declaration of 1776:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

⁴⁹*E.g.*, at Lloydtown, *The Constitution*, Aug. 9, 1837; Sparta, *ibid.*, Sept. 27.

⁵⁰*E.g.*, in resolutions of Reformers of York (*The Constitution*, Aug. 23, 1837). On the other hand, the term "Political Union" used in England during the agitation for the Reform Bill, and in Upper Canada in 1833, was used during the agitation of 1837, *e.g.* see *Colonial Advocate*, June 27, 1833; *The Constitution*, May 10, 1837.

⁵¹All are printed in the Appendix to Lindsey's *Life and Times*.

Says the Declaration of 1837:

Government is founded on the authority, and is instituted for the benefit, of a people; when, therefore, any Government long and systematically ceases to answer the great ends of its foundation, the people have a natural right given them by their Creator to seek after and establish such institutions as will yield the greatest quantity of happiness to the greatest number.

There are striking similarities in these first principles: both declarations assert that political authority comes from the people, that government is a trust, and that there is a natural right inherent in the people to change their government when it ceases to fulfil the ends for which it was constituted and to establish new institutions in their stead. But the question of the ends of government is answered differently. To Jefferson and his colleagues, Locke's explanation of the end of government as an insurance scheme to protect natural rights was quite satisfactory. But the Toronto Reformers significantly omit all reference to natural rights with the exception of the right of changing governors unsatisfactory to the governed;⁵² instead they assumed as a "self-evident truth" that the end of government was the promotion of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The gospel according to John Locke had given place to the gospel according to Jeremy Bentham.

Mackenzie, however, seems to have found the Declaration unsatisfactory. At the meeting of the Committee when the Declaration was adopted he put and carried the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the right of obtaining articles of luxury, or necessity, in the cheapest market, is inherent in the people, who only consent to the imposition of duties for the creation of revenues with the express understanding that the revenues so raised from them shall be devoted to the necessary expenses of government, and apportioned by the people's representatives; and therefore, when the contract is broken by an Executive or any foreign authority, the people are released from their engagement, and are no longer under any moral obligation to contribute to, or aid in the collection of such revenues.⁵³

At the outset of his career as a colonial editor Mackenzie had repeatedly expressed himself in favour of protection, though he had protested frequently against the Navigation Acts and the East India Company's monopoly on tea.⁵⁴ But for some years he had been a convinced free trader, especially after his visit to England,⁵⁵ and in 1836 he had carried an address for free trade in the Legislature.⁵⁶ Free trade also entered into other rebellion documents. The Proclamation issued during the

⁵²And Mackenzie's resolution on Free Trade to which we refer later.

⁵³Lindsey, *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 344.

⁵⁴E.g., in commenting on the Canada Trade Act of 1825 (*Colonial Advocate*, April 20, 1826).

⁵⁵Letter from England (*ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1833).

⁵⁶*Neilson Papers*, vol. IX, p. 24, Mackenzie to Neilson.

rebellion promised "free trade with all the world". And the Proclamation issued from Navy Island declared one of the objects of the rebellion to be "Freedom of trade—every man to be allowed to buy at the cheapest market and sell at the dearest". There is little doubt that these statements represented Mackenzie's real opinions, but the fact that Mackenzie saw fit to reiterate the demand for free trade is also clear evidence of the class to which he meant to appeal, namely the farmers and country tradesmen anxious for cheaper manufactures from across the line. Indeed, in one sense, the rebellion in Upper Canada was an agrarian revolt.

The attempt in the Declaration of the Toronto Reformers to found free trade on natural rights and disobedience to trade regulations on the compact theory of government strikes a new note. Mackenzie, whether consciously or not, was evidently drawing nearer to the brink of rebellion, and such a step required higher moral justification than mere utility. Benthamism might justify reform; it would hardly justify rebellion or civil disobedience. Like the Whigs of 1688 and of 1776, Mackenzie found moral justification in the theories of natural rights and social compact. This is evident also in other documents of the rebellion. The preamble of the Constitution for the State of Upper Canada drafted in November before the outbreak declares: "Whereas the solemn covenant made with the people of Upper and Lower Canada", *viz.*, the Constitutional Act of 1791, "has been continually violated by the British Government". Again the Proclamation issued during the rebellion asserts that the Rebellion is "not against 'lawful' but against 'unlawful authority'" because "a wicked and tyrannical government" had "trampled upon the law" in taxing the people without their consent. The compact theory of John Locke and his successors, and the corollary of the right of revolution when government violated the compact, were perhaps as fundamental in the philosophy of 1837 as in that of 1776.

The draft Constitution for the State of Upper Canada is perhaps the most comprehensive index to Mackenzie's ideas during the Rebellion period. It is quite obviously modelled on the newer state constitutions and the Federal constitution of the United States. It assumes that all political power comes from the people. It conceives of government as a distinctly limited and delegated authority, all power not delegated remaining with the people. It includes an elaborate Bill of Rights, which, like those in American constitutions, was largely the civil rights of Englishmen at common law—rights, however, not all achieved at that date in Upper Canada. It provides for the separation of powers between the three departments of government and for checks and balances. It provides for popular election of both Houses, and of the governor,

though it does not provide for the popular election of judges, or for executive officers other than the governor, a tendency beginning to develop across the border. And like the American constitution of 1789, it is much concerned with protecting the vested rights of property and the validity of public and private contracts.

Three items are worth special notice. In the first place, much attention is paid to safeguarding religious equality and religious liberty and for separating church and state. The troubles arising over the clergy reserves probably accounts in part for this, but perhaps no more than the Non-conformist traditions of Mackenzie or the drift of events in the United States.⁵⁷ A second feature is the provision for state-aided education—1,000,000 acres of the best land was to be set aside for the support of common or township schools, a provision similar to that of the new states of the Middle West. Thirdly, there was the unique clause 56: “There shall never be created within this state any incorporated trading companies, or incorporated companies with banking powers. Labour is the only means of creating wealth.” This article goes much beyond American constitutions. The clause on banking may be explained as arising from Mackenzie’s long-expressed preference for the Scottish system of partnership or individual banking rather than the American system which he deemed utterly unsound. But why prohibit incorporated trading companies? Why declare labour the only means of creating wealth? Why couple these provisions with the prohibition of incorporated banks? Some light is thrown on the clause by other clauses of the constitution and by statements in Mackenzie’s proclamation. The constitution abolishes primogeniture and entail; it declares that “in all laws made, or to be made, every person shall be bound alike, neither shall any tenure, estate, charter, degree, birth or place confer any exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings and responsibilities whereunto others are subjected”. It prohibits all “hereditary emoluments, privileges or honors”. Mackenzie was evidently bent on establishing not only political democracy in the state of Upper Canada, but social democracy as well—all special privilege must be done away with. “My creed”, he said in 1840, “has been—social democracy—or equality of each man before society—and political democracy, or the equality of each man before the law.”⁵⁸ Trading corporations, banking corporations were forms of special privilege which tended to be as obstructive to government in the public interest as

⁵⁷By 1833 only one state provided state aid for religion (C. E. Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories*, New York, 1903, p. 194).

⁵⁸P.A.C., *Mackenzie’s Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1840, “Address to the People of Upper Canada”.

feudal rank or state church or other older forms of privilege had once been.⁵⁹ Mackenzie, the radical Whig of 1824, had now become a frontier democrat, as suspicious of monopoly and special privilege as any follower of Andrew Jackson.

There is little doubt that Mackenzie hoped by rebellion to establish a frontier Utopia in Upper Canada. Independence of Lower Canada was obviously intended; he had become convinced that no justice was to be obtained there. But it was no less an objective to dethrone the privileged class in church and state in the colony, and to establish a simple pure democracy of the yeomen and honest country folk of Upper Canada. But did he intend that Upper Canada should stand alone? The answer is by no means clear. Not until events in Lower Canada forced his hand does he appear to have intended revolt, and it is probable that he had not thought through his objective. But it is evident that he saw the difficulty of Upper Canada standing apart from Lower Canada which was athwart its entrance from the sea.⁶⁰ He may then have originally contemplated a union of the two colonies as an independent state. Or did he contemplate union with the United States? On the one hand, he hated slavery and dreaded union with the United States on that account. On the other, he continually pointed to the prosperity of the neighbouring states and to the cheapness of their governments, and he had repeatedly argued that the colony must either cling to England or join the United States. He had watched, too, the revolt of Texas, and had suggested that Texas could enter the Union whenever it pleased.⁶¹ But whatever his original intention, once the first attempt failed, and he began organizing invasion from New York State, annexation as a state of the Union probably became his goal. At any rate, he frequently lamented later that he had attempted to bring the colony into the Union.⁶²

THE LATER YEARS

As regards Mackenzie's ideas during the long and bitter years which followed 1837 little need here be said since they affected less the course of events. Fundamentally they appear to have changed little—the

⁵⁹*Ibid.* Cf. also Letter to Neilson, Dec. 28, 1835 (*Neilson Papers*, vol. VIII, p. 522 *passim*).

⁶⁰*Neilson Papers*, vol. VIII, Nov. 23 and 24, 1835, Letter to Neilson: "The idea of a French Canadian state, province or republic controll'g the St. Lawrence, and the Commerce of the great countries situated on its banks is too absurd to be seriously credited."

⁶¹*The Constitution*, Jan. 11, 1935.

⁶²E.g., *Mackenzie's Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1840: "Address to the People of Upper Canada".

mould seems to have been set in 1837. Bitter disillusionment followed exile. Within three years he addressed the people of Upper Canada that he did not regret the result of the Rebellion.

I have beheld the American people give their dearest and most valued rights into the keeping of the worst enemies of free institutions; I have seen monopoly and slavery triumph at their popular elections, and witnessed with pain "the bitter fruits of that speculative spirit of enterprise to which", as President Van Buren says in his late excellent Message, his "countrymen are so liable, and upon which the lessons of experience are so unavailing"; . . . the conviction grows daily stronger in my mind that your brethren of this Union are rapidly hastening towards a state of society, in which President, Senate and House of Representatives will fulfil the duties of King, Lords and Commons, and the power of the community pass from the Democracy of numbers into the hands of an Aristocracy, not of noble ancestry and ancient lineage, but of monied monopolists, land-jobbers and heartless politicians.

The flatterers of the people succeed here, as the flatterers of peers and princes succeed in England—and they are often of a meaner grade, coarser parasites than those beyond the sea.

Thus it is, that after having thrown off Houses of Lords, Entails, privileged freeholders, the Primogeniture Law, a dominant church, imprisonment for debt, the yoke of the Slave Owner and the Banker is adopted as a substitute.

I say it with sorrow, for it withers the hopes I have long and fondly cherished—This great country is following closely the career of her parent land; and it is the merest delusion to refer sincere enquirers after truth to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitutions. As in England, the privileged classes govern.⁶³

Though freely admitting he had been wrong in '37, he was far from convinced that the Moderates were right in pursuing responsible government as a remedy. "Suppose we get 'responsible government'," he remarked in 1846—"a few talkative attornies and land speculators as a Ministry! They'll want to get rich all at once."⁶⁴ He was convinced that the old colonial system was preferable.

Exile, and the drift of events in Canada, brought him round to believe once more that the only real solution for the colonial problem was to be found in imperial federation.⁶⁵ Only thus could the colonists enjoy in full the British constitution, and only thus could London be adequately informed of colonial events and thus enabled to check colonial governors. He saw no middle course for the colony between dependence on London or dependence on Washington. As regards union with the northern colonies he would have no objection, but he did not want Canada dependent on the "monstrous slave power" which ruled the republic.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁴P.A.C., *Canada Misc.*, *W. L. Mackenzie Letters, 1846-1859*, Letter to Hon. Benjamin Hawes, under-secretary of state for the colonies.

⁶⁵The letter to Hawes (*ibid.*) elaborates this at length.

Following his return to Canada Mackenzie once more entered the political arena where he played an energetic but minor role during the 1850's. During these years he was perhaps the clearest of the Clear Grits, the opponent of monopoly and privilege, the outspoken critic of Courts of Chancery, of extravagance in government, suspicious of the Grand Trunk as once he had been of the Welland Canal or the Bank of Upper Canada, and the advocate of popular education and of prohibition. Responsible government, he was convinced, had simply meant a new distribution of patronage and public favours, a new governing class as venal and selfish as the old. Jobbery and corruption and private gain at public expense still held sway in Upper Canada; cheap and honest government was as remote as ever. Offered a post in the ministry, he declined almost with heat—it was but an attempt to shackle his independence. They were years when the lamp of hope burned dimly; finally it went out. In despair of seeing in Canada a government for the people rather than the interests, and a society where men were rewarded for merit rather than as a result of special privilege, he resigned from the Legislature in failing health in 1858.⁶⁶ The *a priori* philosophy of Locke and Jefferson, the romanticism of Burns and Byron, the simple rule-of-thumb principles of Bentham, the rugged individualism of the North American frontier, could no longer stimulate his flagging strength and distracted mind.

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⁶⁶For this period see letters to Jacob DeWitt in *Canada Misc.*, *W. L. Mackenzie Letters, 1846-1859*; also Lindsey, *Life and Times* and J. C. Dent, *The Last Forty Years* (Toronto, 1881).

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